SPEECH OF MR. MILLER, OF NEW JERSEY.

On the Proposed Occupation of Yucatan. IN SENATE, MAY 15, 1848.

The Senate having under consideration the bill to enable the President of the United States to take temporary military

occupation of Yucatan-Mr. MILLER said : If this were simply a question whether we should relieve the people of Yucatan from a sudden and overwhelming calamity, it would receive my cordial and hearty support. Beside the high Christian duty of humanity, hearty support. Beside the high Christian duty of humanity, there is to my mind a moral sublimity in the aspect of a great nation like ours stopping in its career of power, of war, and of conquest, to listen to the cry of suffering and helpless women and children, and performing an act of pure disinterested benevolence. This I hoped would have been the position taken by our Government towards Yucatan. But in this I have been mistaken; selfishness has triumphed over benevolence, love of dominion has superseded the love of peace, and the measure, stripped of all its high claims of humanity, is now presented to us as a cold calculating project of nais now presented to us as a cold calculating project of na-tional policy. I will endeavor to show that that is the character of the proposition submitted to us in the message of the Executive, of the 29th of April, and embodied in the bill now

on the 21st of April last, Santiago Mendez, then Governor of one of the States of the Republic of Mexico, sends a communication to our Executive, representing that that State was suffering under the calamity of a domestic war, asking the aid of our Government, and offering, in case the relief be granted, to transfer the dominion and sovereignty of his country to the United States.

This is certainly a very liberal and a very singular proposition; it implores our charity and at the same time proffers a mos valuable donation to us. It is alike tempting to our humann and to our selfishnes; it appeals at once to our generosity as a Christian people, and to our love of dominion as an ambitious nation. There is here such a mixing up of opposite motives for ac-tion, that, if we accept the proposition, it must be ever doubtful whether we were moved by feelings of humanity or by the whether we were moved by feelings of humanity of the love of dominion; whether we save Yucatan from the horrors of a civil war for the sake of its people, or whether we save the people for the sake of taking Yucatan to ourselves. Upon looking at this strange proposition the first inquiry is, who and what is he who thus proposes to deal with the calamities of his country, and proffers her dominion and sovereignty for present help, in time of need, who, as it appears from his own communication, is going from court to court, and crying out like a drowning woman, in the poetic language of the Senator from Michigan, (Mr. Cass.) "save me and take me?" Why, sir, it is a certain Mr. Santiago Mendez. And who is Santiago Mendez? The documents on your table give you his official authority and character. He was, at the date of his communication to our Government, 25th of March, 1848, Governor of Yucatan; but I do not find any evidence whatever showing that, as such Governor, he was clothed with authority to transfer the sovereignty of his State upon any emergency. The only authority pretended is the following article contained in a decree made by the Congress of Yucatan on the 14th of January, 1848:

Art. 1. "The Government is empowered to take any measures, executive or legislative, which it may judge necessary for the restoration of peace, the consolidation of order, and the amelioration of all the branches of the public administration." By the third article of the same decree, it is declared:

"These powers shall cease on the 1st of September next, when the chambers meet at the second constitutional period." There is no authority conferred by this decree for the extraordinary proposition to cede the sovereignty of the State of Yucatan. But if he ever had any authority for that purpose, that authority had ceased before his communication was presented to our Executive, and that fact was known to the President when he sent the proposition to us by his message of the 29th of April. As early as the 4th of April Commander Bigelow, then at Laguna, writes to Com. Perry :

"We have accounts from Yucatan which state that the troop we have accounts from the analysis as safe that he troops stationed at Texax, on learning of Barbachino's having super-seded Mendez in the Presidency, immediately took up the line of march for Campeachy, and abandoned their position. The parties appear to be as divided and hostile to each other as ever; or, perhaps, the troops who wished to retreat took advantage of the change of the Government to screen their cowardice."

And on the 15th of April Commodore Perry informs the Navy Department that

"Governor Mendez has resigned in favor of his political rival, Senor Barbachino, which measure has, it seems, produced increased dissensions among the troops.—(See enclosed extract from the report of Commander Bigelow.")

Thus it appears that before the 21st of April, the day or which this proposition was presented to our Government, Governor Mendez had been superseded by his political rival Barbachino, and it appears that this change in the officer was the cause of renewing party hostilities among the people of Yucatan, and of producing dissension in that country, and that the troops took advantage of the change in the Government to screen their cowardice, abandoned their posi-tion of detence against the Indians, retreated to Compeachy, and left the people of Yucatan exposed to the very calamities from which we are now asked to relieve them. But this is not all. These documents show that the civil war now raging in Yucatan was instigated by the conduct of Mendez and his party; that, for the purpose of advancing his own ambitious views, he first excited the Indians against his political rival, by promises of relief from an odious and oppressive tax, and then, after he had attained power by their aid, not only broke his promises, but cruelly inflicted other outrages upon their perons. Commodore Perry, in his letter of the 16th March,

In the removal of Miguel Barbachino from the governm of Yucatan, about six months since, and the substitution of Santiago Mendez, the Indians were engaged by the Campeachenos in support of Mendez, with promises of a remission of the capitation tax and other indulgencies; but when Mendez was elected the tax was claimed; the Indians refused, and in its collection some of them were put to death. Outrages also on the families of some of the chiefs of the Indians seem to have been perpetrated by some officers from Campeachy; and hence the fears of the Campeachenos, and the comparatively secure feelings of the inhabitants of Merida and its vicinity.

"Among the gentlemen whom I met at the commandant was Don Pedro Camara, said to have been a leading man of th was Don Pedro Camara, said to have been a leading man or the Barbachino party before its expulsion from office. This gen-tleman spoke with great confidence of the ability of the whites to resist the Indians, and seemed very confident and much at his case. All of which further inclined me to the belief that the whole matter is a party quarrel, in which that of Barbachi-no has the best, and that of Mendez the worst, though they may have put elements in agitation which may overwhelm them both, and hence wish for Spanish interference and assistance."

So much for the character, official and personal, of Santiago Mendez, who now asks our humanity in exchange for the

sovereignty of his country.

I desire now to trace the history of this proposition, the causes that induced it, and the reasons and motives which caused our Executive to entertain the measure. In November, 1847, Mr. Justo Sierra, styling himself "Commissioner and Special Agent of the Government of Yucatan near that of the United States," opened a correspondence with our Secretary of State. In his first letter, dated 24th November, 1847, he relates the grievances which Yucatan had sustained at the hands of Mexico; and that, in consequence of these grievances, Yucatan was taking measures "which will probably end in a special declaration of its absolute independence: "that Yucatan had maintained "the most rigid and honest neutrality in the war now existing between Mexico and the United States." He then presents two requests to our Government :

"1. That the duties now imposed at Laguna, under the authority of the United States, on the vessels and productions of

Yucatan, may be abolished.

"2. That the naval forces of the United States may cease to occupy the port of Laguna and island of Carmen."

Here I would remark, in passing, that as late as November last Yucatan asked no protection from us; but, on the contra-ry, begged that we would withdraw our naval forces from her ports, and permit her to enjoy the rights of a neutral Power. Mr. Buchanan, in his answer, dated 14th December, to that communication, grants the first request and refuses the second. The reasons for his refusal are stated by the Secretary, as fol-

"The position of Yuestan is peculiar. . The President cannot recognise her as a sovereign and independent State. She most still be considered as a portion of the Mexican republic, yet as neutral in the existing war. Had she preserved her yet as neutral in the existing war. Had she preserved her neutrality from the commencement of hostilities until the present period, it is more than probable the naval forces of the United States never would have taken possession of Laguna. It is true that a contraband trade in arms and munitions of war was carried on between that port and the neighboring province of Tabasco; but yet we might have borne this injury rather than have exercised the mountainty in the formand that the should have shut his ears against the cry of humanity, but that while he yielded to the call of humanity of Tabasco; but yet we might have borne this injury rather than have exercised the unquestionable right of arresting it by seizing any portion of a State which professed neutrality. But the extraordinary Congress of Yucatan, by their decree of the 25th August, 1845, converted her neutrality into open war against the United States. After she had thus made herself our enemy, the port of Laguna, on the 21st December, 1846, was unconditionally surrendered to our forces. It is true that Yucatan has again become neutral, but it cannot be denied that she has ever since been distracted by civil dissensions, and that the enemies of neutrality and partisans of Mexico are in open rebellion against her Government."

As this is the only letter from our Secretary in answer to the numerous communications made to him by Mr. Sierrs, I ask the particular attention of the Senate to three important

facts asserted by the Secretary.

First. That the President could not recognise her [Yucatan]

tas a sovereign and independent State." She must be con-

"as a sovereign and independent State. She must be considered as a "portion of the Mexican republic."

Second. That, although she professed neutrality, the extraordinary Congress of Yucatan, by their decree of the 25th of August, 1846, converted her neutrality into open war against

Third. That although she has again became

appealed to; and then very dexterously quotes to the President his own message against European interference upon this dent his own message against European interference upon this continent. He also names our generous sympathy towards the Greeks and the Pope of Rome. Yet there is no response. The cry of suffering women and children is still unheard. The President does not find in any of these things sufficient consideration to induce him to great protection to Years. consideration to induce him to grant protection to Yucatan; and the savage exterminating war goes on. Now, sir, what must be the opinion of the world in regard to such an we do not they will go to our rival and ask her aid. the sovereignty of Yucatan will be transferred to England. s like the case of a man who, when his house is on fire with his family in it, goes across the street, and coolly approaching his neighbor, would exclaim, "My wife and children are in danger of being burnt; come and rescue them, and in return for your humanity I will give you a deed for the house." And then, to follow out the illustration, if the neighbor should be true, as has been said, that the treaty now under negotiaturn a deaf ear to the call, the supplicant would say, "Well, tion contains, on our part, a stipulation not to interfere with if you do not agree to the bargain, I will go and treat with your friend over the way." How would such a proposition be received by any honorable man? He would doubtless rush

the United States and Mexico is sent into the Senate. Of the terms of that treaty I cannot speak; but it appears Mr. Sierra had his eye upon this treaty, and is quite well informed of its provisions. Sir, on the very next day, the 24th of

tageous for it; a treaty of perce containing no provisions of this nature is, I repeat, eminently prejudicial to Yucatan, which cannot and ought not to see itself thus sacrificed without at least uttering a cry of complaint, without taking some measure to demand justice.

"For these reasons, I protest, in the mane of my Government and of the neoule of Yucatan, against the terms of this

ment and of the people of Yucatan, against the terms of this treaty; and I demand that in any event the lot of Yucatan should be assured in it."

This protest expresses no fear of the Indians; it asks no aid of the United States against savage extermination. The alarm proceeds from another quarter. Mexico is about to make eace with the United States; Yucatan has been declared part Mexico by our Government ; she is in a state of rebellion against the General Government of Mexico, and in the event of peace and the withdrawal of our army from Mexico, that reoublic may compel Yucatan to return to her allegiance. To avoid this result, and not that of extermination by the In-dians, Mr. Sierra asks the interference of our Government. It is not to save her from the savages of Yucatan, but to protect her against what he calls the mandarines of Mexico, that our aid is now solicited for Yucatan.

Strange to say, that this most novel and meddlesome

test, full of had faith towards Mexico, with whom we were then holding negotiations of the most delicate and honorable character, is received and entertained by our Executive with-out rebuke or reply. Thus stood the matter until about the the United States, was presented to the Executive. Then it was that our Executive first waked up to the cry of humanity, which had been ringing in the ears of the nation for months. and, after nine days of anxious cabinet consultation, he sends of Congress to adopt such measures as in their indement their country."

In this proposition humanity is made a secondary consideprevent Yucatan from becoming a colony of any to rescue its white inhabitants from extermination and ex-

know what measure we could adopt, acting in our legislative capacity, to prevent Yucatan from becoming a colony of any European Power; for if there be any real danger of this result, and we have, as is contended, the right to interfere, it was the duty of the President, in his Executive capacity, to say to such European Powers that the Government of the United States would not permit them to interfere with the sovereignty of Yucatan. But, sir, the Committee on Foreign Relations have solved the difficulty. The way to prevent Yucatan from becoming a colony of any European Power is to take her ourselves-first, by an armed occupation, for the purpose of rescuing the white race from extermination, and then by annexation, in order to secure the permanent dominion of the country. This is the object of the bill reported by the committee, as explained by the honorable chairman, and also by the Senstor trop Michigan (Mr. Care)

rom Michigan, (Mr. Cass.)

The honorable chairman urges the immediate passage of the bill, and tells us that England is proceeding "with racehorse speed" towards Yucatan, and that, unless we get there soon, she will get in before us. The Senator from Michigan, still more alarmed by the emergency of the occasion, sees, or imagines he sees, England there already, not only in nosees. imagines he sees, England there already, not only in posses-sion of Yucatan, but also of Cuba, with towers and fortifications on the land, and armed steamers on the sea, cutting our commerce in two, commanding every entrance into the gulf, and thus imprisoning our trade within a line of strong military and naval positions. Under this grand national view of the subject, what becomes of our humanity for the poor women and children of Yucatan. In this race for dominion the exercise of our philanthropy towards the white race of Yucatan is to end in a contest between England and the United States, over the graves of the Yucatecos, for the possession of a dep pulated country.

In what a strange and false position do gentleman

England and America. The two great Christian and civi-lized nations of the earth turning a deaf ear to the cry of humanity, and each gazing with coverous eye upon a defenceless and we stricken country, and each, under pretence of giving aid to its wretched people, seeking an opportunity to establish dominion. The eagle and the lion watching the same prey, and whether the eagle shall strike before the lion has time to leap is the question which now fearfully agitates the minds of honorable Senators.

Now, what becomes of all the cry about the suffering wo and children, and those considerations of humanity which were dwelt upon so eloquently by the honorable chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations? The effort now appears to be, not to repulse the Indians, but drive off England in

of humanity, but that while he yielded to the call of humanity it was his duty to reject the proposition to interfere with the civil and political relations of Yucatan, as insulting to our honor, and pregnant with bad faith towards Mexico, with whom we are holding negotiations of the most delicate nature. I have already alluded to the fact that Yucatan is one of the States of the republic of Mexico. It has been acknowledged to be such by the Secretary of State, and by the President to be such by the Secretary of State, and by the President himself. Here, then, comes one of the States of the republic of Mexico, and proposes in return for this supplicated aid to cede her sovereignty and dominion to the United States. Now, I submit this proposition, that if we were this day at peace with Mexico, and such a proposal were entertained by our Government, it would in itself be an act of war, because of necessity it must lead to war. But the honorable Senator from Michigan entertains an opposite opinion. He says that if we were at peace with Mexico we could lawfully entertain this proposition to take armed occupation of Yucatan. Why, the idea is monstrous! Suppose one of our States should think proper to place herself in a position somewhat adverse to the General Government? Suppose a majority of the people of that State, of a sain caste, should take advantage of this isolated position against the white would that State, while we were at peace with Great Britain to that country and say, here is a do-

partisans of Mexico are in "open rebellion" against her Government.

These admitted facts will be found of the highest importance in the consideration of that subject; and I shall return to them gain under another branch of my argument.

Next, we have a series of letters from M. Sierra representing the suffering and helpless condition of the thinted States, and to take asking in the name of humanity and civilization, aid from the United States, arms, and military force. To the asking, in the name of humanity there is no response from Mekingan (Mr. Cass) is of opinion that they ought not to have been admitted to the right of out-asking, in the name of humanity there is no response from Mekingan says that in time of peace we missioner then strikes another chord; he appeal to our humanity there is no reponse from Mekingan says that in time of peace we missioner then strikes another chord; he appeals to our national to are fall that fact out in the face of the acknowledgment of our propile have sentled and is that if the United States does not that fact out in the face of the acknowledgment of our propile have sentled and the same of the constant of the purpose of driving out or externianting the Indian population, who like a civil war, I am not willing to send our army into that country and civil war, I am not willing to send our army into that country and civil war, I am not willing to send our army into that country a civil war, I am not willing to send our army into that country and civil war, I am not willing to send our army into that country and civil war, I am not willing to send our army into that country and civil war, I am not willing to send our army into that country and civil war, I am not willing to send our army into that country and civil war, I am not willing to send our army into that country and the critical situation of Yucatan, and the finish power is the service of the service of the retired situation of Yucatan. The nature of the uncertainty of the tritical situation of Yucatan. The tritical

of Mexico have been overthrown by the valor and skill of our army. To save herself from utter annihilation Mexico has erra. He says he has reason to believe that the British Governs. been forced to yield to our demands two of her northern States, upon condition that we would permit her to retain, in peace, the balance of her territory. Negotiations for this purpose what must be the opinion of the world in regard to such an application. This man comes here and tells us that the women and children of Yucatan are about to be massacred by the savages; that the white population is about to be sacrificed; and he asks us in the name of humanity to help them, and if Thus like this, and under circumstances like these, we are holding he holds out a threat that, in case we refuse his application, a secret intrigue with the Governor of one of the southern States of Mexico, and entertaining a proposition which is to separate that State from the Mexican republic, and annex it to our own. We are doing that, too, without consulting Mexico, and in the face of the admitted fact that Yucutan "is a portion of the Mexican republic."

We have heard much of the bad faith of Mexico: but if it any of the other States of Mexico without the consent of her General Government, what will be said of our national honor and faith, if we should now, even before the ink is dry which to the succor of the helpless women and children; but the proposition he would treat with scorn, and be tempted almost to thrust its author in the flames. And yet this has been the way in which our humanity has been approached by the commissioner of Yucatan.

On the 23d of February, 1848, the treaty of peace between nexation, that the annexation of Texas was, if not the imme diate, yet the remote cause of the present war with Mexico.

Is there not a similarity in the two cases? Our interference with Texas commenced with the cry for aid against Mexican ed of its provisions. Sir, on the very next day, the 24th of Pebruary, he presents to our Secretary of State a formal protest against its ratification. In this most remarkable protest with the internal affairs of Mexico, passed into Texas, joined Mr. Sierra seems to forget the dependence and helplessness of her revolution, and wrested that State from the dominion his State, and assumes the tone and authority of a sovereign of Mexico. Then came the cry of English interference, and prince, claiming the right to interfere in the regotiations of our Government. He commences by telling us that this treaty contains a question of life or death for Yucstan; that it is a contains a question of life or death for Yucitan; that it is a hasty affair, and made by those who had "no authority or commission for that purpose;" that it is null and void, and will not be submitted to by the people of Mexico, and that even Yucatan "will not crouch servilely before peril, however grave." He then refers again to the situation of Yucatan, and concludes by protesting that—

"A treaty of peace, in which Yucatan is not treed from the fury of the mandarines of Mexico. on account of its conduct in fury of the mandarines of Mexico, on account of its conduct in the present war, or is not left at liberty to seek for admission as a free and sovereign State in the vast confederacy of the United States, which it most ardently desires as most advantage of the united States, which it most ardently desires as most advantage. It has been said, in cerident could not fail to see that the measure now recommended a desire to see speedily consummated. It has been said, in certain quarters, that this treaty was forced upon the Executive; and that, although he recommended its ratification, he was not at heart in favor of the measure. I cannot permit myself to believe that the President is capable of any such double dealing upon a question of such high importance to the honor and peace of the country as this. Yet it must be admitted that this untimely interference with one of the States of Mexico will, whether intended or not, cast suspicion upon the sincerity of our Government as to its professions for speedy peace with Mexico. The people of the country rejoiced at the prospect of peace. They desired to see this miserable war with Mexico brought to a speedy termination, and longed to be assured that our difficulties with that unfortunate country were finally adjusted. Proud of the glory achieved by our gallant army, and believing that no other advantage to the country could result by the further prosecution of the war, they did expect that the first opportunity to restore honoral lepeace to the country would be embraced by our Government.

I have already shown that the proposition to cede the sov-

ereignty of Yucatan to us had a close connexion with the de-pending treaty of peace between us and Mexico; that it was not made until after that treaty had been sent to the Senate; and that the object of Yucatan in making the proposition was to induce this Government to relieve her from the terms of the out repuxe or reply. Thus stood the matter until about the 20th of April, when the official communication from Governor Mendez, offering the dominion and sovereignty of Yucatan to the United States. treaty-to save her, not from the Indians, but from the power by disappoint the earnest desire of the country for a speedy adjustment of our Mexican difficulties. If there ever was a time in our history when all the great

interests of the country demanded peace, and speedy peace, a message to Congress, in which, after depicting the sufferings it is now, on this very day. The nations of the Old World of the people of Yucatan with a pathos that almost excites our sympathy to tears, concludes by submitting "to the wisdom policy of foreign interference, of national intermeddling, is now receiving the bitter fruits of its labor. The proud monof Congress to adopt such measures as in their judgment of may be expedient, to prevent Yucatan from becoming a coloring of any European Power, which, in no event, could be permitted by the United States, and at the same time to rescue the white race from extermination or expulsion from which shall stand or which shall fall, is a question belonging to the news of the day. Europe, still disturbed in all her political and commercial relations, yields the control of the ration, a mere incidental object. The ruling motive for our world's commerce to our enterprise. Capital, frightened from its investments in the old world seeks employment under the European Power; at the same time, that is, while we are safety of our institutions; and labor, and enterprise, and wealth, ding for the great object, the dominion of the country, escaping from beneath the tumbling ruins of despotism, seeks us its white inhabitants from extermination and exe world's affairs-in this hour of confusion to nationsthis moment, when the clouds of war are gathering thick and dark over the eastern horizon—when we see the lightnings flash and hear the distant thunders roll—with what joy and hope do we turn to see the bow of peace span our clear western sky! Wipe off the little speck of war from our political horizon, cease this contest for worthless Mexican territory, and give us peace, immediate and permanent peace, and you will secure to your country the dominion of the sea, the control of

the commerce of the world.

I will now notice the reasons assigned, as well by the President as by Senators, for the adoption of this measure. They are two-first, to prevent European interference for the sake of dominion; second, to rescue the white population of Yucatan from an exterminating Indian war. In support of the

first reason, the President says:
"We have now authentic information that, if the aid asked for from the United States be not granted, such aid will probably be obtained from some European Power, which may hereafter assert a claim to 'dominion and sovereignty' over

If the President means by this that we have authentic is formation that some European Power will grant aid to Yuca-tan for the sake of humanity, the fact is undoubtedly so; for Spain has already granted such aid and is preparing to afford more. But, sir, I have looked in vain through these documents for any evidence going to show that such aid has been or will be furnished by any European Power for the purpose of asserting a claim to dominion and sovereignty over Yuca-tan. It is true we have opinions and suspicions given and entertained by Mr. Sierra and others upon this point, but there is not a single fact proved to sustain these opinions and suspi-cions. On the contrary, the facts stated prove that they are unfounded. The suspected European Powers named in these documents are France, Spain, and England. As to France, Commodore Perry, in his letter of the 19th of March, says: "I have it direct from the French consul here that the Gov rament of Yocatan has more than twice within a few years ack applied to France for permission to hoist the French flag and to become a French colony, but their proffers have as often

Spain has also been appealed to through her authorities Cubs, and it is true that she has listened to that appeal, and granted relief; but how, and for what object ' Not possession of the country for the sake of dominion, but by promptly sending part of her naval force there, to give protec ion and succor to such of the white inhabitants of Yucatan as might fly to the seacoast for protection against a savage foe; and, for fear that her motives might be suspected, she disclaims in advance all intention of interference with the civil and political relations of Yucatan. The instructions given to her naval commander are worthy of our notice. I will

"That the presence of his vessel on the coast of Yucatan is merely protectory, and has no hostile character whatsoever."
"That on this principle only will be be allowed to grant assistance to the Spaniards and other inhabitants who may look

for protection under his flag."

"Lastly, after having earnestly repeated to the commander of the 'Churroa' that he should earry the desires that animate the authorities of Guba to be useful to the inhabitants of Yucsthe authorities of Cuba to be useful to the inhabitants of Yucatan, to whom they are linked by ties of blood and friendship, he was further directed to effect a landing on the beach, if it should be necessary to do so, in order to protect the lives of men, women, and children, in case that they should be attacked within the range of his musketry; but that under no pretext should the landing party advance more than ten yards from the sea shore." m the sea shore."

Upon these instructions, the official organ of the Govern ment of Yucatan, under date of the 8th of February last, remarks: (I read from the documents before us.)

"Thus they respect the independence and sovereignty of Yucatan and the international law, in order that it should in nowise be understood that, profiting by the critical situation of the country, they had an intention of subjugating it by the establishment of a certain domination.

of the country, they had an intention of sunjugating it by the establishment of a certain domination.

"And this it is that honors more than any thing else the generous offers of her Catholic Majesty in the island of Cuba, who offer us their protection, moved only by the holy love for

Who does not see and feel the beauty and justice of this ntiment? The conduct of the Spanish authorities on this

Behize; and a person is now in the city, professing to be an agent sent expressly from Jamaica to enter into some arrangement with the Yucatan Government. This information is given for what it is worth. In my own mind it has little weight."

ernment will interfere. From what does he draw such an inference? From the fact that British arms have been found in the hands of Indians, obtained, as he supposes, from the Brit-ish agent at the Belize. He has not even proof of the fact; but if he had, would it follow that the Government of England had such an intention because some of her subjects may have sold arms to the insurgents? Why, since our war commenced with Mexico, it is said (I hope without foundation) that some of our own citizens, not being overburdened with patriotism, have sold arms to the enemy. The idea of charging the Government of England with the intention to seize the dominion of Yucatan because some of the Indians obtained arms from some of the subjects of that Government residing at the Belize is perfectly preposterous. We may talk about the probability of Great Britain seizing upon Yucatan, order to excite our watchfulness, but we must remember that such probabilities are not sufficient for Governments to act upon. We must have some evidence of her moving in the atter, before we can make her action the reason for our in-

tan, it is all idle to say that England will seize upon the do-minion of that country. We know that an act of this kind would, under existing relations between the United States and Mexico, be an act of war; she would have two wars at once upon her hands-war with Mexico for seizing upon one of er States, war with the United States for interfering with a country with which we are at war, and now blockaded by our fleet, and subject to be conquered by our armies. Even by the laws of war England at this time could only be permitted to appear in Yucatan either as the ally of Mexico or of the United States. If she comes seeking conquests for her-self a conflict of arms is certain and war inevitable. When, When, then, the honorable chairman expressed his fears of the im-mediate interference of England, and told us that she was Proceeding "with race-horse speed" to take possession of Yucatan, he must have overlooked entirely this view of the case. This cry of England's interference with the nations on this continent has lost its effect upon me; it has been dinged in our ears for the last six years. On all occasions relative to by the distinguished Senator from Michigan. In the enlarged our foreign relations we are threatened by the fear of England. The present Administration has lived with the fear of England continually before its eyes, and is likely to die under the same dreadful apprehension. This fear of England, real or affected, has done much for us in the way of acquiring foreign dominion. The cry commenced with the annexation of Texas, and it succeeded so well in that case that the Government was induced the next year to raise it again, upon Oregon, but then it did not succeed quite so well, it being checked by a little real fear of English power entertained by

the Executive.

In the fall of 1845 this spectre again haunts the mind the President. A rumor had reached the State Department that an Irish priest by the name of Macnamara had gone to California on board of an English ship of war; that he about to purchase a large tract of land at a very low rate, too, for the purpose, no doubt, of establishing an English colony there. Our Government takes the alarm, and dispatches Capt. Gillespie with secret instructions to Col. Fremont to watch and counteract the movements of England. Forthwith California is revolutionized, Mexican authority overthrown, and the country reduced to our possession, we being at the time when these secret orders were given at peace with Mexico. Thus we obtained possession of California through fear of

Again, when peace was first proposed with Mexico, we were told that if our army were withdrawn from Mexico in her present distracted condition, England would enter and seize upon the country. We must, therefore, hold on to all Mexico for fear of England. And now, when a call for the exercise of humanity is made to us from Yucatan, we disregard the appeal until the fear of England comes in to excite us to action; and then, under the pretext of rescuing women and children, the President gravely recommends that we take measures to prevent Yucatan from becoming an English colony. With due deference to the opinions of honorable Senators, I think that this continual reference to the fear of English interference is unbecoming the honor and dignity of this nation. It smacks a little of cowardice to be thus shaping our course to avoid direct contact with the power of England. If there be any real danger of interference by England with the independent Governments on this continent, and if it be our settled policy to resist that interference, why not act openly and decidedly upon the point, and tell England in English that any movement of hers towards this object will be resisted by the Government of the United States. Surely such a course would be more manly and honorable, and would at once relieve us from that duress of morbid fear which frets

and excites the Executive on all occasions.

Much has been said in the course of this debate the nations upon this continent. This principle seems to have taken a strong hold upon the President's mind, and for fear that we may forget it, he quotes it in almost every message sent to Congress. It is recited in the message now before us.

"That we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any nation of this hemisphere as danger-ous to our peace and safety."

Mr. Monroe also avowed another principle, that-"The American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are hence-forth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Power."

The latter cannot be applied to the case of Yucatan, for sl is one of the States of Mexico, and cannot therefore be made the subject of colonization. If, therefore, Yucatan is to be interfered with by any European Power, it must be by over throwing her present Government, and establishing foreign do-minion in its stead. It was this system of European politics, the system of the Holy Alliance, to which Mr. Monroe alluded in the declaration first above cited, and against the exten sion of which system to our hemisphere he solemnly protes ed, as dangerous to our peace and safety. Thus understood this declaration of Mr. Monroe may be considered as a solem pledge on our part to sustain the independence of the State on this continent against the domineering interference of for-eign Powers. It is a general principle, maintaining in the proadest terms the great doctrine of non-interference—a doc-rine as binding upon us as upon the nations of Europe. Yet the President cites this principle of Mr. Monroe as authorit tor us to interfere with the domestic difficulties in Yucatan, t eparate her from the Republic of Mexico, and forcibly to con nect her sovereignty to ourselves. This, sir, is, in my opin ion, an utter perversion of the principle, converting it into selfish dogma, and applying its restrictions to all the world except ourselves. What do we propose to do by this bill? Is it to maintain the independence of Yucatan against English interference and power? Not at all. The independence of Yucatan is not thought of. The object is, as now avowed, to anticipate England by interfering ourselves, for the purpose of extending our dominion over one of the States of Mexico. The Jews had a notion that many of their laws applied to the heathen world, and not to themselves, and they frequently acted under this literal construction. Hence the Divine re buke which they received : "Thou who sayest thou shalt no steal, dost thou steal? Thou that sayest thou shalt not covet, dost thou covet?" May we not likewise say to Mr. Polk, you, who sayeth to England, thou shalt not take Yucatan, you take Yucatan ' You, who sayeth, thou shalt not in terfere, will you interfere? The application now attempted to be made of Mr. Monroe's principle makes it a more selfish rule of action under which you exclude others from plunder in order to take it all yourselves. I think Mr. Monroe would be somewhat astonished to hear that his declaration had

would be somewhat astomshed to hear that been used for such a purpose.

The second reasonnssigned for our interference is, to rescue the white race from extermination or expulsion by the Indian race. The population of Yucatan is divided into two general classes or castes—the Indians or natives, numbering about 400,000, and the whites, or Spaniards, about 120,000. Both are citizens under the constitution of Yucatan, and have a voice in the affairs of Government. These Indians, called savages by Mr. Sierra, are citizens under the constitution of Yucatan, and as such, they being largely in the majority, they have a right to regulate the political affairs of their coun try. Their right to do so is also acknowledged by Governor Mendez, for it was by the aid of the Indian population, solicited by him, that he overcome his political rival and obtained power, and which, as I have already shown, he afterwards bused by oppressing the Indians. Now it may be, and I con-

fess such is my opinion, formed from an examination of the evidence before us, that the war now raging in Yucatan is a civil war between the two classes of her citizens, concerning the administration of the Government. The Indian citizens being in the majority, and having the political power, have overcome the white citizens, and are now in their turn using power, as is said, with cruelty and injustice. The white citizens divided among themselves, and panic-stricken, fly to us for aid, and the President proposes to grant the aid, by taking armed occupation of the country. If we do this, we must take sides with the minority, and make war upon the majority of the citizens of Yecatan. Now, sir, while I am as anxious

to our minister; Almonte also belonged to that so called sav-age race. But I was astonished to hear the honorable Senator from Michigan take the ground that a majority of the people of this country ought not to be permitted to control its Gove ment. This is not very democratic. It is the doctrine of the aristocracy of Europe. Louis Philippe thought the Blouses improved? No, sir; the same snags and bars are there still, of France ought not to vote, that they were too ignorant to be entrusted with that high prerogative; but the Blouses thought

Thus, while the people have long since cleared up the wildotherwise, they rose in their power, and by force expelled the royal family from France. Whether the Blouses of Paris will exercise their newly acquired rights with more humanity than the nations of Yucatan is yet to be seen. But the Yucatecos have this advantage over their compatriots of Europe, while they are many, contending for rights already secured to thein by the constitution of the country, the Blouses are fighting against the constitution of France, in order to obtain privileges which they never enjoyed before. If we should adopt the policy of interfering in a case of this kind we shall have our hands full for years to come. But it is said that this is a war of races—the Indian against the white race. If that be a ground for our interference, we have grossly neglected our duty heretofore. The case has existed for centuries. Every civil war in Mexico—and there have been many of them more cruel and sanguinary than the present one—from the conquest of Cortez to this time, has been a war between the races of that ill-fated country—between the Indians (whole and half blood) and the Spaniards. The great war of the revolution, commenced by Hidalgo in 1807, and which finally secured the independence of Mexico from old Spain, was a war of races or castes; an exterminating war, too, in which the native-born Spaniard was slaughtered or expelled from the country. In the long and bloody history of those cruel and exterminating wars which were for centuries waged by old Spain against the Indians in her provinces, we have no account of an appeal to the humanity of Christian nations for aid and succor to the red man. Men, women, and children were cruelly murdered or hopelessly enslaved. Tribe after tribe were exterminated, and nation after nation sacrificed on the altar of Spanish dominion; yet there was none to interfere and stay the hand of the destroyer. But now, at the first cry of the white man for aid against Indian revenge-revenge, too, provoked by his own bad faith-our humanity is excited to fever heat, and the military power of this Christian nation is to be forthwith sent into Vucatan to fight the battles of the Spaniard against the Indian. I will have nothing to do with this war of races

in Yucatan.
In conclusion, I desire to notice some of the remarks made question of humanity as of little importance. He places our action upon the high grounds of national security, commerce and dominion; and he calls upon us to take this opportunity to secure these national advantages against the grasping power of England. He looks upon Yucatan as a great commercial position—a site for a "tower of observation," overlooking the trade of the Gulf—a safe harbor for a fleet of English steamers, and then tells us that in a national point of view "it is a question of life and death to us" whether we or England have possession of Yucatan. But in order to invest Yucatan with this importance the Senator has been obliged to look a little beyond that territory to the adjacent islands in those latitudes. He has, I think, been acting under the advice of General ackson, who said-

"That statesmen had better study the constitution less, and geography more, in order to be useful to their country.' The Senator has been looking at the latitude and longitude of Cube, its relative and commanding position, and its liability to be seized upon by England. That Cube is the last jewel of the kind in the Crown of Spain. That one of these days the jewel may fall off, or, what I think is more likely to happen, be found, as many other crowned jewels nowadays are, in the market. In that event we must be ready to pick it up or purchase it. The Senator says he would not take Cuba by force of arms. He prefers negotiation, but would at all hazards not permit her to fail into the hands of any Government but our own. Now, sir, to drop the figurative language of the Senator, I understand him to be of opinion that under the cir-cumstances in which Yucatan is placed, and for the reasons he assigns, this Government ought now to take possession of Yucatan with a view of annexing it to the United States; and in case there should be danger of Cuba passing into the hands

of any other Power, we should also seize upon that island and annex it to our Union of States. This is making rapid advancement in the policy of annexation.

The case of Cuba, now anticipated by the Senator, is likely soon to be before us for action. It will be here before the next administration is over, and, as the honorable Senator may, if his party succeeds, hold a commanding position in that administration, and where, he will permit me to say, I should be happy to see him, provided we do not fill the place by a good Whig, his opinions upon the subject of the annexation of Cuba will be received with deep interest by the country. This question will come, if it comes at all, within the next four years. The revolutions in Europe are not yet over. The Crown of Spain may shake and fall next. Cuba, unprotected by the mother country, may be subjected to civil war like Yucatan. It may be a war of races too. A commissioner will present himself to our next President, and tell him selection of the park and faithful performance of their respective contracts, which will on no account be paid until the that Cuba is deserted by Spain, that a cruel war is raging there, and then appealing to our humanity for aid, accom-panied with a threat that if we do not grant the relief England will, and Cuba will be lost to the United States. Thus will this crown-jewel be placed at our feet. True, it is of the ebony order, yet quite tempting. Would the honorable Senator pic it up and place it in our republican wreath, and thereby add

one or too more slave States to the Union?

But I do not participate in the Senator's anticipated fears that England will seize upon Yucatan and Cuba if we do not. England at present has enough to do at home in keeping her subjects in order, without interfering with the Governments on this continent. The Canadas are more likely to demand h attention than either Yucatan or Cubs; and, judging from the signs of the times, England is more likely to lose the provinces she has upon this continent than to acquire new ones. Neither can I see that imminent danger to our commerce and to our national safety which that Senator sees, in case Yucatan and Cuba were in the possession of England. The control of our commerce, or of the commerce of the world, does not depend upon positions on land, upon towers and fortifications over-looking and commanding narrow straits and narrow isthmuses. It is not Gibraltar, nor Malta, nor the Mosquito coast, nor any other position on land, that secures to England the con-trol of commerce. It is her power and position on the broad sea which gives her the advantage. The nation that would control the world's commerce must control the element upon which it floats. The mistress of the sea will be the mistress of commerce. England may seize upon Cuba; she may cover the isthmus of Yucatan all over with threatening fortifications, yet, as long as our proud navy can ride in triumph "o'er the dark blue sea," I fear no evil to our commerce.

The Senator says that England, in possession of these posi-

tions, will "cut our commerce in two." Sir, she has done that very thing already, but not in the way suggested. We have done it for her; your free-trade policy, the tariff of 1846, more than cuts our commerce in two; it gives England the best half. She is now successfully competing with us in every workshop and upon every mart of trade in the Union. England does not seek her barren coasts and thinly-populated provinces for the purpose of extending her commerce; she looks to our millions of heads and mouths to cover and feed as a far richer commercial prize. Give her this advantage for a few years more, and she will not contend with us for this mis-Yucatan, with its four hundred thousand Indians and one hundred and twenty thousand white inhabitants. When and where has England ever dared to interfere with our fereign commerce? Do we not at this moment divide commerce with her the world over? Do not our ships go wherever her ships go-our flag waving side by side with hers on every sea And can it be supposed that she now contemplates the de

struction of our commerce by seizing upon Yucatan and Cuba! The supposition is visionary and idle.

The nations of Europe have enough to do to take care of themselves. They are now feeling the result of the policy that is attempted to be revived by us. This policy of interfering with other portions of the world, this grasping disposi-tion to take that which belongs to others, one nation seeking to control the concerns of another, has left the nations of Europe in a condition in which they are hardly, able to take care of themselves. Had Napoleon, in the early portion of his career, listened to the good spirit which advised him to stand upon the soil of France he would have passed down to his posterity one of the most glorious empires that ever descended from sire to son. And if England, with all her historic fame, her pride, her wealth and power—if England is to go down in this wreck of nations—one cause of her overthrow will be found in the extension of her dominion abroad, to the neglect and at expense of her people at home. And shall we, with these the les before our eyes, undertake to continue the same policy

I was struck by a remark made a few days since, by the Senator from Illinois, (Mr. Douglas,) that it was high time that we should recall our attention from foreign nations, and attend, for a short time, to the interests of our own country. For the last four years most of our time, and money, too, have been employed in looking after other countries. The Administration has, with the coldness and stability of a statue, stood with its back to the country and its face towards foreign dominions. No domestic interest, no internal improvement, could obtain a hearing or elicit a response, unless it was now and then a cold negative thrown over the left shoulder in the form of a veto. Now, I agree with the Senator from Illi-

partisans of Mexico are in "open rebellion" against her Government turn round and ernment.

These admitted facts will be found of the highest importance.

These admitted facts will be found of the highest importance of that subject; and I shall return to them.

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These admitted facts will be found of the highest importance of the critical situation of Yucatan, grant the aid if

civilized life; but this has been the result of the enterprise of lowing from our free iestitutions.

But how is it with those majestic rivers down which the

Thus, while the people have long since cleared up the wildour country; at all events, not until this foreign war is over. I trust the time has come when we are about to get rid of all our foreign difficulties; when the Government, released from the burdens of foreign war, may devote itself to the great in terests of peace, to our domestic affairs, to the promotion of the virtue, the prosperity, and the true glory of our own country.

## NAVY BEEF AND PORK FOR 1849.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, Bureau of Provisions and Clothing, June 7, 1848.

SEALED PROPOSALS, endorsed "Proposals for Beef,"

and "Proposals for Pork," as the case may be, will be received at this office until 3 o'clock P. M., on Monday, the 10th day of July next, for furnishing and delivering, free of all cost and risk to the United States—

Five thousand four hundred barrels of Navy Beef, and four thousand eight hundred barrels of Navy Pork:

Each barrel to contain not less than two hundred pounds nett weight of beef or pork; no excess of weight in either

nett weight of beef or pork; no excess of weight in either article will be paid for. To be delivered at the respective navy yards as follows:

Barrels beef. Barrels pork. At Charlestown, Mass. 1,800. 1,600
At Brooklyn, N. Y. 1,800. 1,600
At Gosport, Va. 1,800. 1,600 5,400 4,800

Said beet and pork must be delivered, one-half between the first day of January, 1849, and the first day of April, 1849; and the other half between the 15th day of April, 1849; and the 15th day of June, 1849, unless earlier deliveries should be required by the chief of this Bureau. Offers must be made for each half separately and distinctly; that is, for the half deliverable between the 1st of January and 1st of April, and for the half deliverable between the 15th of April and 15th of June, 1849. Payment for the first half to be made within thirty days after delivery; and for the second half in thirty days after the 15th of June, 1849.

The beef must be from well-fattened cattle, slaughtered between the 1st day of November, 1848, and the 1st day of February, 1849, and weighing not less than six hundred pounds, nett weight, each. The legs and leg rands of the hind quarters, and the shins and shoulder-clods, and at least eight pounds from the neck end of each fore quarter, or the paris marked Nos. 1, 2, and 3, on the drawing or delineation of the fore and hind quarters of an ox, which will be attached to and form a part of the contract, must be wholly excluded from each harstel and half barrer, and the remainder of the careass must be ent in pieces of not less than eight pounds each.

The pork must be packed from corn-fed, well-fattened hogs, slaughtered between the first day of November, 1849, and the first day of February. 1849, and weighing not less than two

cut in pieces of not less than eight pounds each.

The pork must be packed from corn-fed, well-fattened hogs, slaughtered between the first day of November, 1848, and the first day of February, 1849, and weighing not less than two hundred pounds each, excluding the heads, joles, necks, shoulders, hams, legs, feet, and lard, and all refuse pieces; and must be cut in pieces weighing not less than six pounds each.

Both the beef and pork must be salted with at least one statute bushel of Turk's Island, Isle of May, or St. Ubes salt; and the beef must have five ounces of fine pulverized saltpetre to each barrel, exclusive of a pickle, to be made from fresh water, as strong as salt will make it.

One-fourth the quantity of beef, and one-fourth the quant-

irean water, as strong as sait will make it.

One-fourth the quantity of beef, and one-fourth the quantity of pork, must be packed in half barrels, and contain one hundred pounds nett weight of each, as the case may be; and, in estimating the price, two half barrels are to be considered as one barrel.

The barrels and half barrels must be made of the best sea-

soned white oak, of white ash staves and heading; if of the former, to be not less than three-fourths of an inch thick; if of the latter, to be not less than an inch thick for barrels, and to three-fourths of an inch tor half barrels, and to be hooped at least three-fourths over with the best white oak or hickory Each barrel and half barrel must be branded on its head

of any other Power, we should also seize upon that island and annex it to our Union of States. This is making rapid adcontractor's name and the year when packed.

security for the due and faithful performance of their re-spective contracts, which will on no secount be paid until the contracts are complied with in all respects, and is to be for-feited to the United States in the event of failure to complete the deliveries within the prescribed periods. And in case of failure on the part of the contractor to deliver the aforesaid beef and pork within the time specified, the Chief of the Bubeef and pork within the time specified, the Chief of the Bureau of Provisions and Clothing shall have the right to direct purchases to be made to supply the deficiencies, and any excess of cost shall be charged to and paid by the contractors. Payment will be made by the United States at the periods above specified, (excepting the ten per centum to be withheld until the completion of the contracts, as before stated,) after the said beef and pork shall have been inspected and received, and bills for the same shall have been presented to the navy agents respectively, duly approved by the commandants of the respective pavy yards, according to the terms of the contracts.

The parts of the beef to be excluded will be particularly

The parts of the beef to be excluded will be particularly designated in the engraving to be attached to the contracts. Persons interested can obtain them on application at this office. Bidders whose proposals are accepted (and none others) will be forwith notified, and as early as practicable a contract and bond will be transmitted to them for execution; which contract and bond must be returned to the Bureau within ten days, exclusive of the time required for the regular transmission of the mail.

Every offer made must be accompanied (as directed in the 6th section of the act of Congress making appropriations for the naval service for 1846-7, approved 10th August, 1846, a copy of which is subjoined) by a written guaranty, signed by one or more responsible persons, to the effect that he or they undertake that the bidder or bidders will, if his or their bid be accepted, enter into an obligation within ten days, with good and sufficient sureties, to furnish the articles proposed.

This guaranty must be accompanied by the certificate of the United States district judge, United States district attorney, navy agent, or some officer of the General Government, or

navy agent, or some officer of the General Government, of individual known to the Bureau, that the guarantors are also to make good their guaranty.

No proposal will be considered unless accompanied by such guaranty.

The bidder's name and residence, and the name of each

member of a firm, where a company offers, should be

The bidder's name and residence, and the name of each member of a firm, where a company offers, should be distinctly stated.

Extract from the act of Congress approved August 10, 1846.

"Sec. 6. And be it further enacted, That, from and after the passage of this act, every proposal for naval supplies invited by the Sceretary of the Navy, under the provise to the general appropriation bill for the navy, approved March third, eighteen hundred and forty-three, shall be accompanied by a written guaranty, signed by one or more responsible persons, to the effect that he or they undertake that the bidder or bidders will, if his or their bid be accepted, enter into an obligation in such time as may be prescribed by the Sceretary of the Navy, with good and sufficient sureties, to furnish the supplies proposed. No proposal shall be considered unless accompanied by such guaranty. If, after the acceptance of a proposal and a notification thereof to the bidder or bidders, he or they shall fail to enter into an obligation within the time prescribed by the Sceretary of the Navy, with good and sufficient sureties for furnishing the supplies, then the Sceretary of the Navy shall proceed to contract with some other person or persons for furnishing the said supplies; and shall forthwith cause the difference between the amount for which he may have contracted for turnishing the said supplies for the whole period of the proposal to be charged up against said bidder or bidders, and his or their guarantor or guarantors; and the same may be immediately recovered by the United States, for the use of the Navy Department, in an action of debt against either or all of said persons."

JESSE Es DOW, Notary Public and General Agent.

may be immediately recovered by the United States, for the use of the Navy Department, in an action of debt against either or all of said persons."

JESSE E. DOW, Notary Public and General Agent.

Office No. 3 Union Buildings, directly under the Union

Office, Washington, D. C.

A TTENDS to the prosecution of claims before Congress and the various Departments of the Govarnment. Pensions and bounty-land warrants particularly attended to Bounty-land warrants purchased and sold. The heirs and legal representatives of the officers and erew of John Paul Jones's squadron in 1779 will find it to be to their interest to apply to Mr. D., he having the rolls of the Bon Homme Richard and Alliance, and can tell at a glance who are and who are not entitled to a share in the Denmark prizes. Persons abroad who desire business to be attended to by Mr. D. will be required in all cases to pay postage and enclose a retaining fee of \$5.

Refer to the Members of the 28th and 30th Congress generally.

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